## **Article Index**

America's Forgotten Wars: Guerrilla Campaigns in U.S. History, 223

American and Soviet Views of Human Rights, 163

Australia, Indonesia, and Europe's Empires, 261

Brezhnev Era, National and Nonnational Protest in the, 177

Conflict in Indochina upon ASEAN's Security, Impacts of the, 9

Détente and Economic Warfare, 317

Foreign Policy Is Power and Economics, 251

Laos: Vietnam's Stepping-Stone to Thailand, 153

Low-Level Violence and Future Targets, 351

Polisario Insurgency: War and Minuet in North-West Africa, The, 93

Provincial Iranian City, The Politicization of a, 333

Rhodesia, Confrontation in the "Land of Lost Content": The Black Contribution to the Present Conflict in, 383

South Vietnam, The Fall of, 1

Southern Africa, Conflict in, 57

Soviet Military Casualties in Third World Conflicts, 73

Strait of Hormuz and Secure Oil Routes: A Challenge to U.S. Strategy, The, 121

Thai Insurgency in the Later 1970s, The, 137

Turkey: The Growing Pains of a Young Democracy, Anarchy in, 31

Turkish Foreign Policy?, Whither, 17

Vietnamese History, Patterns of Conflict in, 279

Women in the Russian Civil War (1917-1921), The Role of, 201

Book Reviews, 87, 219, 311, 401



## **Author Index**

Bloomfield, Jr., Lincoln P., 31
Dougherty, James E., 93
Gropman, Alan L., 87, 219, 311, 401
Hamburg, Roger, 163
Hancock, I. R., 383
Hansen, Richard Earl, 121
Haselkorn, Avigdor, 73
Hosmer, Stephen T., 1
Jenkins, Brian M., 1, 279
Johnson, Richard, 201
Kellen, Konrad, 1
Kowalewski, David, 177

Livingstone, N. C., 351
Mazzocco, William, 317
Mendenhall, Joseph A., 153
Neal, P. V., 383
Randolph, R. Sean, 137, 317
Swee, Goh Keng, 251
Soloway, Irving H., 333
Tierney, Jr., John J., 223
Turan, Ilter, 17
Wail, Patrick, 57
Wanandi, Jusuf, 9
Whitlam, Gough, 261



Conflict

Editor-in-Chief George K. Tanham The Rand Corporation Washington, D.C.

> Editorial Assistant Elizabeth R. Meyer Washington, D.C.

Editorial Board J. Bowyer Bell Center for International Analysis Washington, D.C.

Vincent Davis
The Patterson School
of Diplomacy
and International Commerce
University of Kentucky

Geoffrey Fairbairn Australian National University

Michael Granfield Graduate School of Management University of California at Los Angeles

> Fred Iklé Washington, D.C.

Brian Jenkins The Rand Corporation Santa Monica, California

Sol Sanders Business Week Magazine

Sir Robert G. K. Thompson Winsford, England

W. Scott Thompson The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy Tufts University

Jusuf Wanandi Centre for Strategic and International Studies Jakarta, Indonesia

Barry Zorthian Washington, D.C.

Volume 2-1980

# Conflict

An International Journal

George K. Tanham, Editor



Crane Russak · New York

The appearance of the code at the bottom of the first page of each article in this Journal indicates the copyright owner's consent that a single copy of the article may be made for personal use. This consent is given on the condition that for multiple copies the copier pay a fee of \$2.00 per copy through the Copyright Clearance Center, Inc., 21 Congress Street, Salem, MA 01970. This consent does not extend to other kinds of copying, such as copying for general distribution, for advertising or promotional purposes, for creating new collective works, or for resale.

#### Conflict

ISSN: 0149-5941

Published by Crane, Russak & Company, Inc. 3 East 44th Street, New York, New York, 10017

Volume 2, 1980 (4 issues) Subscription price for Volume 2: \$36.00 including postage. Outside North America: \$44.00 including delivery by air Single copy price: \$10.00. (Overseas orders add \$2.00 for delivery by air.)

> Personal subscriptions, payable by personal check and mailed to home address: \$20.00 including postage. Outside North America: \$28.00 including delivery by air.

> > Copyright © 1980 Crane, Russak & Company, Inc.

No part of this publication may be stored in an electronic retrieval system or transmitted electronically without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Subscription orders and notification about change of address should be sent to the office of the publisher.

Claims for missing issues are honored only within five months of publication date.

A microform edition of this journal is available to all subscribers from University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

In Japan, Crane Russak Journals are distributed exclusively by Kinokuniya, Tokyo.

Abstracted and/or indexed in Abstracts of Military Bibliography

America: History and Life Current Contents/Social and Behavioral Sciences Historical Abstracts

International Political Science Abstracts Monthly List of Selected Articles, UN Library (Geneva)

**Public Administration Abstracts** Social Sciences Citation Index United States Political Science Documents

Universal Reference System

Printed in the United States of America

## Contents

The Fall of South Vietnam Stephen T. Hosmer, Konrad Kellen and Brian M. Jenkins	1
Impacts of the Conflict in Indochina upon ASEAN's Security  Jusuf Wanandi	9
Whither Turkish Foreign Policy?	17
Anarchy in Turkey: The Growing Pains of a Young Democracy  Lincoln P. Bloomfield, Jr.	31
Conflict in Southern Africa	57
Soviet Military Casualties in Third World Conflicts	73
Book Review	87
The Polisario Insurgency: War and Minuet In North-West Africa James E. Dougherty	93
The Strait of Hormuz and Secure Oil Routes: A Challenge to U.S.	
Strategy	121
The Thai Insurgency in the Later 1970s	137
Laos: Vietnam's Stepping-Stone to Thailand	153
American and Soviet Views of Human Rights	163
National and Nonnational Protest in the Brezhnev Era	177
The Role of Women in the Russian Civil War (1917–1921)	201

Book Review	
Foreign Policy Is Power and Economics	251
Australia, Indonesia, and Europe's Empires	261
Patterns of Conflict in Vietnamese History	279
Book Review Détente and Economic Warfare William Mazzocco and R. Sean Randolph	
The Politicization of a Provincial Iranian City	333
Low-Level Violence and Future Targets	351
Confrontation in the "Land of Lost Content": The Black Contribution to the Present Conflict in Rhodesia	383
Book Review	401

### Information for Authors

Conflict: An International Journal aims to bridge the gap between the limited coverage offered by the topical press and the specialized literature of the political and foreign policy research institutions. In general, articles consider the increasing attacks upon the fundamental values and institutions of Western democratic society.

Manuscripts should be submitted to the Editor-in-Chief, George K. Tanham, The Rand Corporation, 2100 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Books for review should be sent to the Editor-in-Chief.

Manuscripts will be accepted with the understanding that their content is unpublished and not being submitted for publication elsewhere. If any part of the paper has been published previously, or is to be published elsewhere, the author must include this information at the time of submittal.

Form. Submit a typed original and two copies of the paper, in English, on one side of good quality opaque paper. (An additional copy should be kept by the author.) Each copy must be complete. Type the text, including footnotes and references, double-spaced. Allow margins of at least an inch on all sides of the typed pages. Number manuscript pages consecutively throughout the paper. At the top of each manuscript page type a short version of the article's title (40 characters including spaces).

Abstracts. Each paper should be summarized in an abstract of not more than 150 words. An abstract prefaces each paper and should enable the reader to know whether the paper is pertinent to his needs. Do not include references or symbols.

Title. The title of the article should be kept as brief as possible (6 to 12 words).

Affiliation. On the title pages include full names of authors, academic and/or other professional affiliations, and the complete address of the author to whom proofs and correspondence should be sent.

References to the Literature. Follow the Chicago Style Manual. "A Uniform System of Citation" should be followed in the case of legal articles.

Figures. All figures must be submitted in a form suitable for good reproduction, have a brief descriptive title, and be drawn on separate sheets. Number figures according to the sequence of their appearance in the text, referring to them as Fig. 1, etc. On the back (or in a margin) of each figure, give the figure number, name of author, and title of this journal.

Tables. All tables must be discussed or mentioned in the text and numbered (with arabic numerals) in order of mention. Each table should have a brief descriptive title. Do not include explanatory material in the title; use footnotes, keyed to the table with superior lower-case letters. Place all footnotes to a table at the end of the table. Define all data in the column heads. Every table should be fully understandable even without reference to the text. Type all tables on separate sheets: do not include them within the text.

Spelling and Hyphenation. The authority is Webster's Unabridged Dictionary.

Permissions. If any figure, table, or more than a few lines of text from previously published material are included in a manuscript, the author must obtain written permission for republication from copyright holder.

Copyright. Under the new copyright law, the transfer of copyright from author to publisher must now be explicitly stated to enable the publisher to assure maximum dissemination of the author's work. Copies of the form for use with this journal can be obtained from the Editor.

**Proofs.** All proofs must be corrected and returned to the publisher within 48 hours of receipt. Only correction of typographical errors is permitted. The author will be charged for additional alterations to text at the proof stage.

Reprints. A total of 25 reprints of each paper will be supplied free of charge. Additional copies may be ordered at charges shown in the reprint price scale that will be sent to the author with the proofs. Reprints are not available after publication of the issue.

The Publisher will do everything possible to ensure prompt publication. It will therefore be appreciated if the manuscripts and illustrations conform to the style of the Journal.